682 accidentally shot to death by Ta-i. According to Lolo custom,
614 a clan member who kills another has to pay with his life. So
555 Pieh-t'u killed a cow to entertain all the clan members who
agreed to Ta-i's death. Ta-i tried to commit suicide by taking
[762] poison, but it failed to kill him. Soon afterwards, Pieh-t'u
suddenly died, and Ta-i was spared his life as no one really
wanted to force him to die. In July this year, a small group
614 of soldiers stationed at Lei-po came to Ma-liu Wan to cut wood
555 for fuel, but the Lolo thought that the soldiers came to search
721 for opium because the village is an important opium trading
[439] post between the Han-Chinese and Lolo. As a result of this
misunderstanding, members of the Li-ch'ü branch took up arms
under Ta-i's leadership to defend themselves from the soldiers
and a conflict ensued. Since then the Lolo in Ma-liu Wan vil-
lage have been hostile to the soldiers, and there have been sev-
eral skirmishes in which Ta-i was always the leader. He,
too, has managed to settle clan affairs and has undertaken ne-
gotiations with the Han-Chinese. Thus he is ascending very
rapidly to the leadership of the Li-ch'ü branch in Ma-liu Wan.
It is evident that the Lolo position of leadership depends en-
tirely upon the individual's personal competence, especially
his ability to assemble all the clan members and to issue or-
ders for combat, immediately after which he will be recog-
nized by the public as their leader and protector.

614 Although they are dispersed in distant villages, mem-
bers of the same branch still recognize their clan relationship
and maintain friendly intercourse. There can be no feud a-
[628] mong members of the same clan as feuds are fought only be-
tween different clans. The author's trip to Ma-liu Wan was
just about at the time when Li-ch'ü Ta-i had these feuds with
the Han-Chinese soldiers and people. So the author was ad-
vised to be cautious. But our Lolo headman-protector, Li-
ch'ü Ta-chi, assured us that there would be no danger as he
was related to Ta-i as younger uncle (1) in the same branch of

1. Ed., lit., "father's younger brother," which refers to a person of the father's generation who is "younger," by kinship reckoning, than the father, but is not necessarily a blood brother of the father himself.

the clan, and both being well-known black Lolo leaders, they
574 would respect each other's "face." As expected, when we
arrived at Shan-wang Miao, the three white Lolo who guarded

628 If the clan feud becomes enlarged in scope and two or
614 more clans are united in an effort to resist the common ene-
726 my, then the able-bodied fighters of the different clans would assemble and together perform a ceremony to seal the alliance. They would kill chickens and animals, toast each other with wine mixed with blood, and swear to attack the enemy and help each other to the last man.

628 At the end of the Ch'ing dynasty and the beginning of
726 the Republic period, when guns were not yet brought to Liang
[411] Shan, weapons for Lolo warfare consisted of bows and arrows, poles and sticks, leather shields, long knives, stone pellets, and others. Fighting with these arms had to be done at close quarters, [86] and so it was called hsieh-tou [armed fight]. During the fight, the participants had to wear full regalia to the
[714] field to display their military pomp. Their heads were wrapped in a turban propped up like a "hero's knot." They wore silk garments ornamented with gold. Even the horses were fitted
[492] with golden saddles and silver stirrups. All these were intended to demonstrate their wealth and power to overawe the enemy.

726 This kind of armed fighting, however, exists in name
628 only, since the Lolo are now accustomed to using shotguns
177 for hitting targets beyond 100 paces. Also the fighting between clan enemies no longer requires the display of finery; instead, they have adopted the strategy of swift surprise attack, like a clap of thunder too sudden for one to cover his ears. It merely indicates that the introduction of modern technology has changed their old strategy and created a new pattern of fighting.

562 During the old days of armed fighting, some black Lolo
728 woman would come to the field of battle in gay dresses and,
628 standing between the opposing camps, would urge the two sides to stop fighting and talk peace. This woman was usually related to both clans — for example, her maternal [sic] clan on the one side and her conjugal clan on the other. According to Lolo
[517 tradition the appearance of a woman on the field would have
762] obligated both sides to stop fighting, but if they insisted on continuing the feud, then the woman would strip herself naked by taking off her skirt and then commit suicide because of the shame. When such things happened, more kin branches and clans might become involved, the scope of the feud be enlarged, and eventually the fighting reach a stage beyond anybody's control. The importing of shotguns has changed the manner of fighting while the custom of a woman's standing between the opposing camps has all but disappeared. During his stay in

628 each family, B owes A an indemnity for the two extra lives it
728 took. A high price is paid for black Lolo and a lower price
682 for white Lolo. Besides payment, they would also try to find out the cause of the feud. If A started the feud, it has to pay B an indemnity in lieu of an apology.

628 The day on which peace is concluded, payments are
728 made through a middleman and a ceremony is held to cele-
574 brate the peaceful settlement. Usually a mountain slope is selected as the meeting place for both sides and the side which is to make the apology would kill oxen, sheep, pigs, and chickens to entertain the guests. Before the feast, they kill a chicken and drop its blood in the wine to be drunk by a representative from each side as a covenant that from now on they would resume friendly relations. After the covenant, they hold a big feast, welcoming each other with drinks, and leave only when everyone has had a good time.

614 In Lolo society, since the clan is primary in social or-
682 ganization, everybody in the clan shares the same responsi-
628 bility and obligation. The individual is a member of the clan organization. Any injury to the individual is considered an offense to the clan. So if one of its members is killed, the clan organization would come forward [90] for vengeance by killing a member of the opposite group to atone for the death. That a life is paid for by another life is an unwritten law of Lolo society. The way to enforce this law is to utilize the organization's common responsibility and the mechanism of clan-feud fighting.

614 Members of the same clan are not permitted to fight
682 feuds. Today, however, on account of the rapid growth of
627 numerous branches within the clan, there are occasionally the misfortunes of fighting and killing between different branches of the same clan. All intraclan disputes are commonly arbitrated by an influential black Lolo in the clan. In the case of a murder, Lolo tradition requires that the killer pay with his life and no indemnity money be accepted. When Li-ch'ü Ta-i accidently killed the son of Li-ch'ü Pieh-t'u. In that same year, Pieh-t'u, who was Ta-i's younger uncle of the paternal clan, invited all clansmen to a meeting and to a feast for which an ox was killed. The clansmen decided that Ta-i
[762] would have to pay with his life. Reluctantly, Ta-i accepted the decision and twice attempted suicide without success. It was only after Pieh-t'u's sudden death that no one would press for the forfeit of Ta-i's life. At the same time Ta-i's wife's family, the En-cha branch, which was quite strong and influential, did not want Ta-i to pay with his life; so they came forward to negotiate

for an indemnity price. As Pieh-t'u had been dead and Ta-i had gradually become prominent, no one in the Li-ch'ü clan dared raise any objection. Therefore, due to human relations and environmental factors, the traditional rule of paying with one's life for killing a clan member has also been waived and gradually changed in form and direction.

Nonetheless, in Lolo society, the killing of a blood kinsman of a near branch sometimes still calls for the payment of life for life. For close relatives, such as brothers, father's younger brothers, and brother's sons, as well as father's sister's sons, mother's brother's sons, mother's sister's sons, and others who are involved in mutual feud killing, the killers all have to pay with their lives. To cite a case previously mentioned: Mo-shih Tso-t'i, who had been studying at the military academy in Ch'eng-tu, unfortunately had to return home for business before his graduation. It happened that at the time his elder brother was acting as a headman-protector to take more than a dozen Han-Chinese merchants from northern Yunnan to Liang Shan. The brother discussed with Tso-t'i his plot of kidnapping the Han-Chinese merchants as slaves in an act of reverse protection. Tso-t'i, however, who had recently received an education, knew that the Han-Chinese and the Lolo were of the same national family as citizens of the Republic of China, so he resisted his brother's advances. The latter argued violently with Tso-t'i and insisted on reverse protection with the result that in a fit of temper Tso-t'i killed himself with a gun. The clan members felt that Tso-t'i's brother should pay for the death with his life, but since Tso-t'i was not actually killed by his brother, the case remained undecided for a long time and is still not settled today.

On conc[illegible], within the framewo[illegible] of clan kinship, the Lolo are [illegible]ed to unite together and share collective responsibility[illegible] clan members would not fight each other in a feu[illegible] anyone who kills a member of his clan must pay with his own life. However, in external clan relations[illegible], the clan feud is an important structure in their social life. As they have a warlike pattern in fighting clan feuds generation after generation, their young men first learn from them the art of fighting and later they themselves organize expeditionary teams to attack clan enemies and to rob and kill on route. Eventually the more people one kills and the more booty he seizes, the more famous he becomes and the higher his social position. Gradually he gets the title of headman-protector and becomes [91] a political leader.

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000 all he could for the Nosu chief. These hillmen have always appealed to Dr Savin, and he has rendered them valuable help on many occasions. That help is well worth having. I remember gratefully how kind this doctor can be. Once when I, in another part of the district, got into trouble with one of the Black Bloods living in Chinese territory, and was so beaten that my life was despaired of, Dr Savin did all that he possibly could do, and did it with a heart full of kindness. This same kindness he showed to Vri-ntee. He soon, however, saw that the fears in Vri-ntee's heart were only too well founded, and that the dreaded disease, which no one out here can cure, had gripped the brave chief from See-tieh.

• 762 While still staying at Chaotung, and wondering what the verdict would be, Mr Long told the doctor that if it were true that the chief were a leper, and if he knew the truth, he would certainly commit suicide in preference to returning home, where all would treat him as an outcast. That prospect this man, brave as he was in many ways, would not face. In view of this terrible possibility the doctor refused to tell the chief the truth. and did all he could to cheer him up, and to take his thoughts off from the dread which was so haunting him. The man, however, refused to be put off in this way. He got hold of the idea that something was being kept from him, and that the doctor was not doing all that could be done. He imagined that even if he were a leper, this doctor, who had snatched so many people right back from the portals of death, could surely save him, who was still a very strong man and in the full vigour of manhood. He got so obsessed with this idea that he resolved to commit suicide, and determined to do so at the gate of

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the hospital. His retainers, however, got to know what he contemplated, and prevented him from carrying out this plan. The disappointed chief was in a desperate state, and at last Mr Long and he started out for home again. All along the way the man was gloomy, and persisted in saying that the doctor had a curative medicine which he could have given him, if he had been willing to do so. He now began to suspect that Mr Long was also, for some reason or other, in league with the doctor. After two or three days the party reached Toh-chee, the home of Mr Long, from which the hills near to See-tieh can be seen. Vri-ntee and his men slept the night in a room at the side of the main courtyard, close to where Mr Long was. In the night, when all the others were fast asleep, Vri-ntee got up and went outside into the courtyard. Here, right at the door of the room where his retainers were sleeping, he hanged himself with his girdle. It was not an easy thing to do, and he had to do it with the greatest deliberation. Some of these Orientals are desperate characters when it comes to suicide. I knew one old man who was so full of pain that he could stand it no longer. He hanged himself by the side of his bed with his head only about eighteen inches from the floor. I knew a little girl also who hanged herself from a bush, which was not so high as herself. And I knew a pair of lovers, who could not get married, tie a rope around each other's neck and stand thus together on a rock, from which a tree grew almost horizontally. They jumped together so that the rope caught on the principal branch of the tree, and they died there—hanging down on either side of the branch.

There was a great outcry the next morning when the body was discovered. Word was sent by Mr Long to the